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Trade in America 1715

THE
CONDUCT
OF
ADMINISTRATION
WITH REGARD TO THE
COLONIES.

When publick interests are consulted, the
American are apt to see the most trifles
by this country will be of little or no
service towards its commerce
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1715





THE
CONDUC T
OF
ADMINISTRATION, &c.

NATIONS derive their riches and wealth from commerce, and their commerce from industry. In their infancy, poverty commonly ensures to them peace and tranquility; but when prosperity has given them consequence in the world, they become the objects of invasion and prey: The States, who afforded them protection, while they were unable to defend themselves, have a right to their friendship and alliance; but they too often exact from their gratitude what is inconsistent with their interest and independance to grant.

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Though the Americans do not stand in that very predicament with Great Britain, the measures of government directly tend to extort from them, by violence, if not by consent, all the sources of their wealth, to render absolute the power they possess, already equal to despotism itself. But, happily for America, and ultimately, I will venture to prophecy, for England herself, the necessary steps, preparatory to an attempt upon the Colonies, could not be effected time enough to crush the new-settlers, before they had acquired strength sufficient to resist the dominion of absolute power. Without the resources of war, however, and even without the common necessaries of life, a free and spirited people, animated by the justice of their cause, as well as by the example of their fore-fathers, will ever disdain the yoke of slavery, and embrace by choice, immediate death.

Ever since the accession of the House of Hanover to the Crown of Great Britain, it has been, seemingly, the principal aim and immediate

imediate drift of Government, to circumscribe and abridge the liberties and rights of the people; though to that spirit of freedom, which distinguishes the British Nation, they owe their power. They were called to the throne to preserve those rights, which had been abused by a race of Monarchs, who had rendered themselves truly odious to a free people, by the error of the present age, too great an attachment to popery. Accident, however, seems to have preserved the liberties of England, as well as the rights of America. An early design upon the Colonies was planned by Government, though the discontents in Scotland, ever since the exclusion of the Stuarts, rendered the execution of their schemes extremely dangerous; and left the bloody struggles of an unfortunate people to our time. It was, perhaps, difficult, too, to find a set of men, wicked enough to presevere in measures so destructive and diabolical.

The great expences of the war, which was concluded by the Earl of Bute, in 1763, it is evident, obliged the enemies of America

rica to place their views upon that people to a considerable distance. Domestic enemies, as well as foreign foes, had lent their aid toward emptying the ministerial coffers ; and they had greatly to lament, that not a single forfeiture, and even but few bribes, accrued to them from a peace, which necessity alone obliged them to make. They remembered, no doubt, the amazing advantages which resulted to the followers of William, upwards of sixty years before, from the Irish forfeitures. They had not forgot, that their predecessors glutted sufficiently, very lately, on the poor Scots ; and, upon the whole, they concluded, that intestine commotions are more advantageous to ministers, than foreign wars. That America had long flourished, the assistance she lent during the war sufficiently proved ; and her wealth seemed to be the only safe prey for ministerial rapacity. In the attempt to enslave the Colonists, they knew, that they would at least rouze them to resistance, which would be easily converted into rebellion, by which they would become the immediate masters of their wealth,

and

and ultimately the lords of their forfeited lands.

These laudable considerations weighed much with men, totally divested of all principle, and entirely resigned to every act of inhumanity, to every degree of injustice. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded the authors of American destruction, and, who was himself succeeded by the enemies of America, was obliged, during his short stay in office, to yield in some degree to the bent of the Court, and to join with them in their views against the new-settlers; and perhaps his sudden resignation in 1766, was owing chiefly to his hearty dislike of measures, which he was obliged to pursue. Disgusted with a set of men, whose abilities he despised, and whose principles he abhorred, he disdained to retain his power, at the expence of the liberties of his fellow subjects. The mild dispositions and amiable qualities of the Marquis of Rockingham, were ill calculated to carry forward premeditated measures, at once so diabolical and so destructive to the common rights of mankind;

kind ; though he yielded so far, at the request of his friends, as to bring in, and pass the declaratory-law. At last, after industrious search, a set of men were found, whose souls revolted at no injustice, whose minds yielded to none of the dictates of humanity.

The power of the British Parliament to tax America was so universally questioned, that Mr. Grenville thought it prudent, upwards of twenty months before he brought in the Stamp-Act, to intimate his intentions to the House of Commons, and to inform them that the measure was in agitation. Still it remained a doubt, whether such an attempt would ever be made ; and the consequent execution of that measure, in the end of the next sessions, struck an universal panic upon the nation. The repeal of that law, by the Earl of Chatham, was the last effectual struggle of that patriot for the rights of mankind ; and the measure which deprived him of the first office of the State, to which his abilities

were

were so equal, and to which his judgment was so just.

That the British Legislature have a right to tax all the subjects of the empire, is the general principle upon which the advocates of Government proceed to justify the taxation of America. That such a power is vested in the three estates of Parliament is true. But that *such a power* extends no further than the representation of the people is equally true; for without *Representation, Taxation* cannot exist. That the Colonies should be subjected to pay taxes, by the act of an assembly, where they should have no representatives, and where not one in thirty of its members have the least knowledge of their ~~wealth~~, their commerce, their internal resources, is very inconsistent with common-reason, with the constitution of England, and with the usages of nations. To render a free people responsible to the laws of another land, is a principle of policy not recorded in the history of nations; and if the Colonists of their own accord aided Government with greater

greater supplies during the war, than the riches of their country could afford, is this the gratitude they were taught to expect from the Mother Country, to impose upon them, by her pretended authority, the same demands in time of profound peace?

But, granting that the British Legislature are possessed of the power of imposing laws upon America, there is a vast difference between maxims of general policy and matters of property; and, if such laws are found to be contrary to the interest and subversive of the common rights of the country, would not the same power enable them to modify such laws, to the inclination of the people, and to the constitution of such a country? If the Legislature possess the power of making laws, but not of repealing them, should they be found oppressive, is it just, or is it perfect? We are taught to believe, that the constitution under which we live is just and free; but will the case of the Colonists justify the assertion? If the Legislature are possessed of the power, but not the inclination, of doing

doing good, do they deserve to be intrusted with the rights of mankind? Or would it be excusable in the people to submit to their power?

The Legislature, whose exclusive right and supremacy certainly extends over every part of the Empire, is composed of King, Lords, and Commons, in Parliament assembled. The laws pass through the two Houses, and the executive part is left with the King. But neither King nor Lords have any right whatsoever with taxing the people, because they are not their representatives. They hold an heritable right to their power, which does not depend upon the people; and consequently they cannot, in any manner, dispose of their property. The House of Lords is a mere nominal part of the Legislature, because they do not, like the King and Commons, derive their power in any measure from the suffrages of the people. The Commons are at least understood to be the spontaneous choice of the great body of the people; and, therefore, all acts of supply, all mat-

ters of taxation must come from them. But though they are alone vested with the power of disposing of the property of their constituents, so far as it is necessary for the support of the state, their resolves, by the constitution of the country, cannot pass into laws, without the concurrence of the two other branches of the Legislature. This, in fact, is all the business either King or Lords have in matters of property and taxation; and indeed it ought to be so, for they are totally unacquainted with the riches of the people, and entirely ignorant of those particular branches of commerce, on which the great supplies of the State must be raised. And the Commons of England are as little acquainted, if possible, with the resources of America, as the Lords are intelligent in the commerce of this country; and thence it follows, that it is by no means just that America should be taxed by a British Parliament.

But soon after the present ministry came into office, matters of more immediate advantage to them, and which were at the same

same time contributory to the grand design against America, came under their deliberation. Though the affairs of the East India Company had hitherto prospered at home, the conduct of their servants was replete with inhumanity and injustice abroad; by which means, they returned to England with fortunes, which placed them beyond the temporary power of a minister. They too, as they owed none of their good fortune to ministers, very justly refused to share with them their spoil. The servants of Government, though they plunder with impunity their own country at home, deem it criminal in others to extort abroad; without a co-partnership of their joint-interests.

This, however, was a measure, though aided by Treasury-interest, that could not be immediately effected. Any expedient, therefore, was adopted, which had the intended effect in as short a time as could be expected. To recall the Charter of the Company, they knew, would have been a very unpopular, as well as unjust, act of power; as it is not to be supposed, that the

affairs of so great a Company can be in a train of immediate liquidation; and their concern with the commercial part of the nation, would have rendered the dissolution of the Company an alarming loss to public credit. But to exact from them, for a temporary renewal of their Charter, such enormous sums, as would soon throw their whole affairs into the hands of Government, was a measure, whose consequence could be only foreseen by the most intelligent part of mankind; and, indeed, would not even have had the intended effect, had not the affairs of the Company taken an unfavorable turn. Having first involved them in distress and ruin, they desired the Company to make a formal application to themselves, which, when they did, they held to the man, their word, and, under the sanction of Parliament, imposed on them such regulations and laws, as left them not even the vestiges of power.

While these grand objects were pursuing at home, the ministry placed men of their own stamp in the way of forwarding their views

views abroad. The Governors Bernard, Hutchinson, &c. were well adapted for betraying the people, whom they were appointed to govern. A correspondence the most diabolical, subversive of the rights of humanity, the rights of freedom, the rights of property, was carried on between these men and their *right honourable* Patrons.

Till this correspondence was happily discovered, no subjects in the world were more attached to their Sovereign, than the Americans; or more obedient to the laws of their country. But justly rouzed into distrust, and into fear, ignorant of their friends, and afraid of their enemies, they became jealous of every act of power, and considered it as an encroachment on their rights. Indeed, their doubts were well-grounded; and to what degree of frenzy, may not a free people be rouzed, when their liberties are invaded on every side?

Thus detected in their secret machinations against the Colonists, Administration, to reconcile to the world their public measures, persevered in all their unjust designs.

Aided

Aided by the false information of their agents abroad, they endeavoured to impress mankind with an unfavourable opinion of the disposition of the Americans towards the Mother-country. The press, ever ready to aid their designs, was solely employed in this purpose. The daily papers poured forth scurrillity and abuse. But, above all, their mis-representations to Parliament, over whom they have an absolute influence, was fatal to the Americans.

Strengthened by the wealth of the East, encouraged by an obsequious Parliament, and prompted by their own evil minds, the Ministry proceeded in all their unjust measures against the Americans: They passed laws against that people, which were in some measure acknowledged by themselves to be oppressive and severe; yet they have refused to alleviate them, because the Colonists did not pay implicit obedience to their power, in submitting to acts, which they deem inconsistent with humanity and the usages of countries, and which, in effect, would be a total annihilation of all their rights.

rights, as a free people. Government deem it inconsistent, they say, with their dignity to retract their measures, till obedience is enforced ; because, the truth is, though it would be relieving an aggrieved people, it is diametrically opposite to the views of the court and its private instigators. Men, who are unacquainted with the manners of courts, wonder wherein consists the dignity of persecuting a brave and industrious people ! The Colonists conceive, that obedience to those laws, would reduce them to entire dependance on the Crown, and would recognize the power of an assembly, which they deny extends to their country, in matters of property : Hence all the anarchy and blood in our Colonies ; hence all the divisions and parties amongst ourselves ; hence every evil that an abandoned court has not already entailed upon this unfortunate country, once the terror, but now the derision of all the world.

Under such just apprehensions and fears, urged by necessity, and justified by example, the Americans formed associations for their

their safety, and the general weal of their country. They saw that they were misrepresented to their Sovereign ; that they were betrayed to their enemies ; that every act of severity, which was exercised against them, was secretly abetted by those, who were sent amongst them to protect them and their rights ; that measures, destructive to their freedom, their commerce, their property, were actually in agitation, and ready to fall upon them with irresistible weight ; that their remonstrances were banished from the throne, and their humble petitions considered as so many insults to royal power ; and that those, who had shewn themselves most active and hostile to their rights, were caressed and promoted by their prince. These were the foundation of American resistance ; why ; they, with just indignation, refused to admit the East India Company's tea into Boston ; and why ; when they found the servants of Government so wicked as to force it into the town, they threw it into the sea ; and the consequent cause of all their misfortunes.

Disap-

Disappointed in their wicked attempts against the town of Boston, instead of offering conciliating terms to an injured country, Administration sent out a military force, and introduced the martial law amongst a people, who had been taught to expect moderation and mildness from their prince. Not content with this wanton act of unwarranted power, they shut up the port of Boston; restrained their trade with this country, and forbade them to hold any traffic or intercourse with other nations. We might ask how the inhabitants of America were to live? or how they were to pay *British Taxes*? Was not this the most severe, the most ruinous act of power, that ever was devised against a free people? But even here they did not stop: they proceeded to still greater extremes: they called a new Parliament, whom they deceived in information, and under whose sanction they proceeded to acts repugnant to humanity, and inconsistent with reason. Their addresses to the King; their resolutions regarding the Colonies, but particularly their de-

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claratory

claratory resolve, that the Americans were in actual rebellion, are sufficient to shew the inhuman designs of Administration against an unfortunate people, already labouring under every degree of domestic distress,

It is remarkable, that though the Colonists were in *actual rebellion*, last winter, by act of parliament, they were only declared rebels, by *proclamation*, in June. This is the regard Administration have for the resolution of an assembly, whose authority they deem necessary to *sanctify* their proceedings ! Is it not an insult to the power of Parliament ? Perhaps, his Majesty's proclamation was meant by way of assent ; and Parliament had not been six weeks prorogued.

The measures of government throughout, were as different from reason and justice, as their assertions, regarding the Colonists, were foreign from truth. After averring, that the British Legislature had

had a right to tax America; and after recognizing the principles upon which they were taxed, the Ministry proposed, but under a different name, to give them the liberty of raising the supplies, that should be levied in consequence of such taxation. On the twentieth of February, I think, Lord North reported from a committee of the whole house, that they had come to a resolution, which is simply this: *That it was their opinion, that when any Colony or Province should offer to raise their share of supply, and intimate to the General Assembly what such sum was, if approved by his Majesty and his Parliament, at whose disposal it was to be held, it should be carried to the account of such Province, without exacting it over again.* This was the specious resolution, which, they said, left it in the power of the Americans to tax themselves: yet, notwithstanding the absurdity of this resolve, though it carried no meaning along with it, on the twenty-fourth of the same month, it was passed into a law. But, now, did it give the Colonists the

power of taxing themselves? No. It speciously vested in them a power, of which they could not be deprived, giving away their own property.

While Parliament passed acts, which the Americans, and even many in this country, deemed severe and unjust, its members descended to the last degree of puerility and meanness, in their invectives against that people. The *brave* * Colonel Grant branded them with the name of cowards: he offered to traverse the continent of America with a thousand men; yet this brave ministerial cadet, with upwards, by all accounts, of six thousand men now in Boston, dares not face those cowards in the field. Mr. James Twitcher gave out to the world, that a thousand poles with red coats on them, placed around the *fortress* of

* In the Highlands, the *Grants* are stiled in the Gaëlic language the *cow-milkers*; and in cattle-stealing, it is remarked, among the other Clans, that a *Grant* never stole an ox in day-light.

Boston,

Boston, would be a sufficient defence ; that the *Yankeys*, as his Lordship was pleased to style them, never *felt bold enough* to face a red-coat ; yet the same *Yankeys* have block-ed up six thousand of his Majesty's troops in Boston, under the command of the best Generals in the army, and have in vain invited them to fight. The very same *Yankeys* defeated double their number of the re-gulars at Lexington, and forced them to re-treat. None, but the self-same *Yankeys* routed the King's troops at Bunker's-hill, notwithstanding their cover from the fleet, their advantage in every point of view.

If Colonel Grant meant to retaliate upon Administration their false information re-garding the Americans, as would appear, his conduct equally deserves censure ; for he not only betrayed the men in office, but also his Country and his Prince. It is even much to be doubted, whether this enter-prising genius, with his thousand men, would be able, under the cover of Mr. Twitcher's whole fleet, to march quietly along the coast of America.

Had

Had not the Colonists just cause to be incensed at such illiberal and unmanly invectives, from men who composed the British Legislature? The former injuries of Administration recurred upon their minds with double force: They saw that they had much to fear, and but little to hope. Far removed from the seat of government, they are naturally impressed with the most unfavourable ideas of Courts, and that of England in particular: they hear their follies and foibles, with, if possible, exaggerated circumstances; and, indeed, a commercial people, situated as the Americans are for trade, and accustomed to business, are by no means fond of royal parade and idle shew: they deem it criminal to contribute to the support of men, whose intentions and views, they conceive, are ever hostile to their just rights.

Here we are to stop for a moment, and return to first principles. Is it reasonable or just to conceive, that a body of people, of at least three millions, many of them of distinguished and acknowledged abilities and

and genius ; whose commerce was in the most thriving situation ; whose internal resources were great and valuable ; whose families enjoyed peace and plenty, affluence and ease, should, deliberately, without the utmost provocation, without the most hostile invasion of their liberties and property, resist the authority of the parent state, and lift arms against her power ? Though a few enthusiasts in the cause of freedom, had assembled in a tumultuous manner, though outrages, as is usual, on the introduction of a new law, had been committed by the vulgar, time would have cured the disorder. But, during four years, the Americans have uniformly resisted the tyranny of taxation ; and have, with unanimity and firmness, proceeded upon the first principles of freedom, till they have involved a great nation, whose arms in foreign wars had gained so much renown, and whose actions in the world have hitherto been so full of splendor, in a ruinous and destructive war ; met their armies in the field, and repulsed them with success ; and have shewn mankind, that a free and spirited

spirited people, animated with the cause of liberty, are able to perform feats unknown to the sons of absolute power.

After a military force was transported to their country, the Americans, justly considering themselves, if not in danger, at least under constraint, declined meeting in assemblies, which were no longer free. They had formerly denied the exercise of power in the British Legislature; they now abhorred the measures Administration pursued to enforce obedience. They considered a military force in their country as an introduction to despotism, which they were determined to resist. They, therefore, renounced their allegiance to their prince, as he had, they conceived, violated the covenant into which they had mutually entered; and they denied the supremacy of the British Legislature, as its ministers, they said, had become their inveterate and hardened enemies.

All union being thus dissolved between the King and the subject, the power of govern-

governing naturally devolved on the people, from whom it originated. Under the restraint and terror of a military force, the protection of Heaven could alone preserve that resolution and firmness, which mark every measure the Americans adopted : Anarchy, confusion, and terror, had long prevailed in their country ; yet every action of the Colonists is full of deliberation and prudence. Some superior form of society, however, seemed absolutely necessary to quiet the minds of the people, and to render them confident in the resistance, which they had made to absolute power. For this purpose, the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia ; and, after assuring the people of their unalterable resolution of maintaining, at the hazard of their lives, those rights which they derived from the laws of God and of nature, in defiance of all the hostilities preparing against them by the mother-country, they framed a declaration to the world, full of that extreme confidence, which mankind derive, from the last degree of despair and distress.

The Congress begin their declaration with an appeal to their Creator, that, as they are convinced they were born on an equality with the rest of the human race, so they are determined to resist all the attempts of others to absolute power. They declare, that the cruel and impolitic conduct of the British Parliament, obliged them to appeal from reason to arms; and that, therefore, it is a duty they owe to society, and to the world, to make known the justice of their cause.

They observe, with justice, that their fore-fathers left the mother country with no expence to her, to seek on distant shores, an asylum for civil and religious freedom; and having, in those barbarous wilds, with vast difficulty effected settlements, by their industry and commerce, soon reflected back riches and wealth on the parent state. They remark, that to this circumstance ought chiefly to be attributed the amazing success of Great Britain in the late war; and that, from the resignation of Mr. Pitt, are to be dated, all the mis-
fortunes

fortunes of their country, and of this. They complain of the innovations of Parliament, or more properly speaking, Administration, in taking from them their property without their consent ; extending the jurisdiction of the courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty ; depriving them of the inestimable privilege of trial by jury ; restraining their commerce ; exempting the murderers of Colonists from legal trial, and thereby from punishment ; establishing Property in Canada ; sending armies and fleets into their country ; banishing their humble requests and petitions from the throne of their Sovereign ; declaring them Rebels ; disregarding their moderate and peaceable overtures toward a reconciliation ; and, ultimately, opposing the opinions and good designs of a great body of the first people and citizens in the kingdom in their favour. What part of their liberty was left entire ? None.

After recapitulating the injuries their country had suffered from a profligate Administration at home, the Congress remark

the consequent barbarity of their servants abroad. In pathetic terms, they remember the murderous butchery committed on their countrymen, by General Gage's troops at Lexington; and all the horrors attending that bloody business. They lament the distress, to which their fellow-citizens have been reduced in the town of Boston, in consequence of converting that once commercial city into a garrison, and the unheard-of severities exercised upon the inhabitants. In lively colours, they represent the separation of wives from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and infirm from their relations. But what they complain of the most, is, the arming against ~~them~~ their inveterate enemies, and the common enemies of all Christians, the Roman Catholics. They are reduced, ~~they say~~, to the alternative of chusing ~~an~~ unconstitutional submission to the tyranny of irritated, and revengeful ministers, or resistance by force: The latter is their choice. They have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honour, justice, and humanity

humanity forbid them, they say, tamely to surrender that freedom, which they received from their gallant ancestors, and which their innocent posterity have a right to receive from them. They cannot, they affirm, endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness, which inevitably awaits them, if they basely entail hereditary bondage upon them."

These are the sentiments of the Congress; sentiments which do honour to the human heart. They may say with Doctor Johnson: "He that would animate mankind to the support of freedom, which is their common cause, should himself feel, in an eminent degree, that ardour which he wishes to inspire. Even an enthusiasm therein may be deemed a holy rapture, since that by which it is produced is the cause of God; and is so great a good in the last order of his creation,"*

* Defence of Magna-Charta, Par. 10.

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The Congress conclude their declaration with assuring the world, that they wish for nothing more than a good understanding and perfect harmony with the Mother Country. Necessity imposed upon them the resistance they have made to the evil designs of her Ministers, not to her own just power and supremacy, which they have so often and so dutifully recognized. They thank the Almighty for the protection he has given them, for retarding the designs of their enemies, while they were unable to resist their power ; and they implore the continuance of his Divine favour. They fight not, they say, for glory or for conquest, but in defence of their just rights and privileges. " We exhibit to mankind," say they, in their own simple stile, " the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death. With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Ruler of Universe, " WE

“ WE most devoutly implore his Divine
 “ goodness to conduct us through this
 “ great conflict, to dispose our adversaries
 “ to reconciliation on reasonable terms,
 “ and thereby to relieve the Empire from
 “ the calamities of civil war.”

Though this paper contains nothing, but a picture of human misery and distress, it has been reprobated by the Creatures of Government, with the name of an insidious and inflammatory production. Their assertions, however, last but for a day; but the wrongs of a bleeding country make an impression, that the hand of time cannot efface, and render odious a set of men, whose avarice is insatiable, whose minds are bloody, and whose measures are unjust; while the names of those Patriots, who boldly stood up in the cause of freedom, will be handed to posterity with the most glorious of appellations, the Deliverers of their Country.

Before the real designs of Administration against America were generally known, several

veral regiments, happily for the former, were sent to Boston. But since their intentions have transpired, a general languor, dislike, and inactivity, have prevailed in every motion, that was not immediately under the eye of Administration. The resignation of the officers of the army, a circumstance that history scarce records, the desertion of the ship-wrights from the dock-yards, the desertion of the soldiery abroad, are sufficient to evince the unwillingness of mankind to fight against their fellow-subjects. They foresaw, perhaps, that they were to fight in a cause, where victory gained no glory; that they went out to immediate death, or returned to certain slavery; that when America was conquered by the foes of freedom, the vestiges of liberty would only remain in England. These circumstances were obvious, and they occurred to all.

These considerations too occurred early to Administration, and they took their measures accordingly. With what other design did they tolerate a system of religion in

in Canada, that the people of Great Britain at large abhorred? Was it not for this purpose, that they relaxed their severities against Ireland, and placed the Catholics of that kingdom on an equality with Protestant subjects? Had they not this in view, when they gave all civil offices in the Colonies to the natural enemies of the Protestant succession, the needy and discontented Scots; and promoted them every where in the Empire, to the exclusion of loyal and honest subjects?

These Catholic measures of a Catholic Administration, I only mention as specimens of their conduct. The world remembers their treachery in the affair of Falkland Islands. They can scarce have forgot their iniquitous conduct to the East India Company. Few are ignorant, that it costs this Country upwards of twelve hundred pounds a day, to preserve the specious appearance of public credit, by preventing fluctuation in the funds. Who does not know, that for three months past upwards of double that sum has been ex-

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pended every day in the ineffectual efforts of Administration, to procure unconstitutional address from the corporations in the kingdom? But the people of England have despised their allurements as much as the Americans disregarded their threats. We see the immortal enemies of all free-men, arming in every part of the Empire. In Canada, their Religion was tolerated and authorized for the wicked and diabolical designs of Administration against America; and they are now invited, encouraged, and caressed, to take up arms against that unfortunate people. In Ireland, where that sect were so lately promoted and encouraged, they are rising in thousands to perpetrate the designs of a Romish Administration against the Colonists, which are so perfectly suitable and consonant with the bloody tenets of their abhorred faith. What has not a free people to fear from these hostile preparations? But a day of count and reckoning, it is hoped, will come, when those men will meet their deserved fate; and he is more wicked than themselves, who wishies them more.

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The unconstitutional conduct of James the second, which brought about the glorious revolution, was moderate and mild, compared with the present measures of Administration. That unfortunate prince, like them, favoured secretly, and at last openly, the Catholic religion; but he had not gone so far as to establish it, by law, in any part of the Empire: He only wished, as he said himself, to have it in his power to tolerate among his subjects, a faith which he loved. When he found the bent of the people so opposite to this measure, he armed not his unsuccessful brethren against their rights. He avowed publicly his attachment to that faith. He did not, under the appearance of a Protestant, endeavour to subvert that religion, and promote that system which he secretly loved. His Ministers were not Roman Catholics, though they endeavoured to persuade him, that they had become converts to his opinion. Mr. Hume says, that James's only fault was too great an attachment to the Romish religion. Have not the present Administration the failing of poor James, with many more?

But to return to the point in view. The Justice of American resistance is obvious, by every reason: The people of this Country in general, though so far removed from the injured Colonies, are prepossessed with an opinion of their cause, that even the daily current of public fame cannot, in the smallest degree, change. In a country, where the Press is solely appropriated and employed in the cause of Government, where all other opinions before the public, are ridiculed and despised, it is not an easy matter to instil into mankind other notions.

But in the present case, reason dictates to them, and they have adhered to it with amazing firmness. The case is now entirely changed. The declarations of Administration they consider as so many baits to deceive. It is true, they have great reason. Those who have not themselves, have lately beheld fathers mourning their children, widows deplored the fate of their husbands, and children bewailing the loss of their parents.

These are feeling considerations, and they weigh

weigh much with mankind. To hear of blood and slaughter among our fellow subjects, affects us; but to see its images, gives a severe shock. In the City of Dublin, in one day, twenty families went into mourning, in consequence of the unnatural and bloody contest with America. When so small a place in the British Empire was so suddenly affected, what must have been the case throughout the whole? But while we behold these things at home, what must be the condition of a wretched and unfortunate people abroad? There, mourning is general, human misery is seen in every face, every eye gushes with tears, while their country-men and friends lye bleeding in the general cause of their Country, and of all mankind! There women and children are left in want; the aged and sick die for hunger; misery, horror, and distress, prevail.

But though these horrors may last for a time, Providence will deliver, in his good time, a wretched people, from the persecuting zeal and malevolence of an abandoned

doned Ministry. He has already demonstrated his interference in their cause : He has rendered ineffectual all the motions of their enemies. What, but the divine power, would have deluded the King's troops so far as to turn Boston into a garrison ? a town which has no command of the country ; which the fleet could at any time have laid in ashes, and which the provincials would never have attempted to retain. In fact, the possession of it must undoubtedly hurt the side who holds it. Why did not General Gage, aided by a powerful fleet, transport his army into the open country, and, at least, retard the operations of the Colonists ? The appearance of an army, in a country unaccustomed to invasion, would have struck the inhabitants with terror. Why remain in Boston, while the people met in peace, consulted with deliberation, and armed with resolution ? Why remain in so inglorious inactivity, while the people who opposed him acquired courage, from the seeming terror of their enemies, and derived confidence from their own unanimity ? 'Tis true, he had engaged in a bad cause ;

cause ; and activity now, might afterwards be deemed guilt. But if General Gage himself was actuated by motives of humanity, why did the soldiery, who fight for their *Prince*, proceed with irresolution, diffidence, and langour ? THEY had only heard of remorse ; they knew not humanity or mildness ; Providence alone retarded their steps, and rendered abortive their bloody designs.

If Administration wished for an amicable settlement with America, as they professed, why did they not reply to the address of the Continental Congress ? They say, that they know of no legal assembly under that title. To this we answer, were they more illegal than the body of West-India merchants, who last year, petitioned the House of Commons ? Or, were they more illegal, than the Freeholders of Middlesex, who five years ago petitioned the throne ? Are the words “*Continental Congress*” in themselves illegal ? The people have a right, when they are aggrieved, to petition the throne, and to demand redress ; and, in
my

my opinion, the denomination or title, any body of people may assume, does not deprive them of this right, far less does it constitute them illegal.

But the Americans were already declared Rebels. It would be the height of imprudence, in the Ministry, to enter into a negotiation, before a tender of their treasure was made, before their lands were forfeited to the crown. To listen to the complaints of the Colonists, would anticipate these demands. Had they chose to buy their liberty with an everlasting price, like the East-India Company, there is no doubt, the Americans would have succeeded. Of all the crimes Administration have been guilty of, rapacity is the most conspicuous. But the Americans disdained liberty that was bought for a time; they love the eternal liberty that they are sure of purchasing with their lives. They are, therefore, left to all the horrors of famine, fire, and sword; and may God dispose of them as they deserve !

But

But to conclude in general terms: That the Americans would ever consent to pay British Taxes, or Taxes imposed on them by the British Parliament, was far from being the opinion of the greater part of mankind, at the time that the measure was carried into execution; and since that period, I think they have had some reason to be more convinced in their opinions. None but a weak and profligate Administration would ever have made the experiment. Great Britain is now reduced, by their ignorance or folly, or both, to the alternative of letting the Colonists shake off their dependance, or to the uncertainty of conquering that people, at the certain destruction of both countries. Should she persevere in hostilities, the whole wealth of the nation may be expended, without effectually settling the difference. If she descends to negotiation, the great object of all this quarrel, an American revenue, is for ever at an end.

In the interim, Commerce suffers in a fatal manner. Throughout the whole king-

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dom, a general stagnation is felt. The merchants of London alone are gainers by the dispute. But it is to be observed, that their prosperity, on this occasion, proceeds from the ruin of all the rest of the nation. The whole money of the kingdom is brought to the capital, where the merchants have contracts and subscriptions for supplying the army with necessaries, and where chiefly bills of Exchange can be negotiated. Were the merchants and traders of London to suffer in as dreadful a manner, by the dispute with America, as the other towns and cities do, their clamours and noise would reach the skies. These circumstances are well known to every man, who is in the least acquainted with business; and to this circumstance we may partly ascribe the situation of public credit, and the fluctuating stocks, which are higher now, than they have been for some years.

And though a few Addresses from the trading Corporations have been procured

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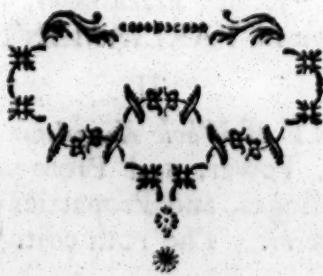
at a vast expence, this circumstance tends to shew us how dangerous the influence of the crown is to our natural rights ; and cannot, by any means, be said to be the opinion of the people, who signed and presented those Addresses. As Parliament have already, in some manner, I cannot tell how, approved of hostilities against the Americans and their rights, it is not natural to suppose, that the very same men should, in the course of six months, have changed their opinions so far as to adopt pacific measures. It is, therefore, the duty of every good citizen throughout the kingdom, to join in an unanimous remonstrance to the King, requesting him to put an end to the horror of a civil war, which was begun through the folly and ignorance, not to say worse motives, of his Ministers ; and which has been continued by that obstinate arrogance, which proceeds from mean and unmanly revenge : To recall his troops from Boston, and to send delegates to represent his Majesty, and to carry to an injured people the tidings of peace : To

restore to the Americans their antient rights, and to secure to them those liberties, which they were compelled, by his own Ministers, to defend, with the sword in their hand: to inflict a mark of public disgrace upon those of his servants, who have involved his Majesty's loyal subjects into the horrors of a bloody war with one another; to declare to the world his abhorrence of all this tragic business; and to promise to his own subjects, in particular, more moderate Government, and a more just Administration. And, to convince mankind of his intentions, to dissolve the present Parliament, at the same time that he discharges his Ministers; and, by those means, to call a more equal representation of the people.

When these measures are adopted, the Americans, as they are the most distressed by this contest, will be the first to make advances toward an amicable accommodation. But till a change of men, as well as measures, take place, it cannot be imagined

gined that they will, or can, with safety, trust the hardened enemies of themselves and their rights ; men, whose fidelity extends no further than their interest ; whose promises are so many sacred perjurations, and whose ambition, through murder, blood, and desolation, is only bounded by rapacity and pecuniary emolument.

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